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the Imperial German Government and with Austria-Hungary. All our resources are at the command of the government, and we purpose to end this war by winning it. No one can mistake the military outcome. We shall bring the Imperial German Government to terms. Of this there is no doubt whatsoever. But all this could be done and the war in reality be lost. A nominal military victory can easily be turned into a defeat gruesome and calamitous. But if we clarify our principles and become "debased by no selfish ambition of conquest or spoliation"; if we keep prominently before us our "principles of humanity and of knightly honor"; if we refuse to take part in "intrigue"; if we keep always in mind not only the welfare of ourselves but of our enemies; if we view our cause as just and holy and make it both; if we crystallize our thinking upon the ancient rights and duties of nations, set forth month by month on the front page of this magazine, we as a nation shall rise to our opportunity, to the clear heights of God's "own justice and mercy," and win the war indeed.

A HAPPY NEW YEAR

MAY we wish our readers a happy New Year? We do. We wish for them, as we wish for ourselves, that the Imperial German Government may be brought to terms and that the war may be ended before the round of another year.

There is hope that war by its own processes is committing hara-kiri. The author of "The Clansman," Mr. David Wark Griffith, returning from the battle fronts of France, has one dominant impression thoroughly burned upon his mind. It is: "This awful thing must never be allowed to happen again as long as the world lasts." He says that "all Europe is pressing on to more fighting, more blood, and more suffering in the hope that this debacle of slaughter may sweep warfare out of the world forever." His belief that this hope, peculiar to every war in history, will be more nearly realized this time because the methods of modern warfare have taken from war its "glamour" and "romance." He believes that if there had been no military caste in Germany there would have been no war. It was the feathers of this caste that persuaded men to become soldiers, but trench warfare has made these feathers negligible. Mr. Griffith says: "I have a feeling that this war will do a great deal toward squeezing the romance out of army life. The dreadful squalor of modern fighting gives a new aspect to this age-old drama. . . . All the glamour has gone. All the magnificence of the maneuvering armies has passed. . . . They go to live in a ditch and stick there (literally) until relieved by other troops. Even the awful grandeur of the artillery duels of the past has been elimi-

nated. The modern gunners usually do not know what they are shooting at; seldom see what their target is and sight their guns by mathematics. The courier with the foaming charger of other wars has become a desk telephone in this war. . . . It is too big; too vast. The hero of war is lost. His deeds have been swallowed up. He is a speck in a mighty picture. He is a grain of sand on a vast stretch of sea beach. He is an atom. . . . War denies individuality to men. It ships them in bunches and kills them in bundles and buries them in open ditches. War is out of tune with the times."

There is hope that Germany itself is killing war. Speaking of Germany, Mr. Griffith says: "In devoting herself to the glorification of war, she has destroyed its glories. In seeking to transform a nation into an army, she has made armies forever distasteful. In seeking to make warfare the steady diet of mankind, she has given the world a severe case of martial indigestion." Because of the new methods, and because of its unprecedented proportions, war is generating its own antitoxins as never before.

But war is not only losing its glamour; the attractions of a just and rational peace are becoming more apparent. To be convinced of this one needs but to read the President's last message to the Congress and the chorus of approval from the press around the globe. A correspondent from Seattle wrote, asking us for "a few words as to the outlook after this war." Our reply was: "We are looking for organs and processes for the more definite expression and interpretation of international law; a clearer conception of the reciprocal rights and duties of nations, and an extension of the will to peace." This is our view, and we believe it to be the view of free peoples everywhere. The faith and sentiment of our nation are now set firmly upon the realization of these things in the name of an international justice transcending the force of arms. The lessons taught by this Society through the patient years are being learned at last with a new interest and a quickened intelligence. Peoples are setting for themselves the goal of a governed world.

As the time of our great testing approaches, the ideals for which we are striving are becoming clearer to an increasing proportion of our people. School, platform, press, the Government are awakening to the importance of the fact that our soldiers must not be physically fit simply and contented only; they must be intelligent; they must be aided to think through the reasons why they are laying their lives upon the altar. The principles behind the activities of the United States Government are principles worth dying for. No stone should be left unturned; no effort spared to make clear what these principles are. We believe that no stone will be left unturned, and for this we are grateful.

This is a war against war; in a sense more unusual

than in the case of any other war. This is so, not as a matter of emotion, but as a matter of official opinion and governmental utterance everywhere. That this is so, we may be glad. Our hope is that the German people will by their action end this war before another year has passed. But whether that be so or not, because of the faith and aspiration of the American people in behalf of a world peace based upon righteousness, we face the new year with the "mighty hopes that make us men."

ACCENTS WILD

WE WISH the persons interested in promoting the theory that the way to obtain international peace is through "negotiations now" might address their arguments to those really in need of such arguments, namely, the German people. For any one in America to plead with Americans for "peace by negotiation now" is worse than a child crying for the moon, since the proposal comes from adults, and there may be a few persons who might be influenced merely by seeing such proposals in print. The people behind this Quixotic movement think they are thinking. They conceive that they have "millions of followers" in the United States. They fancy "a following" in Italy, France, England. They look upon those nations as well as upon ours as composed mostly of revolutionists bent upon ending the war by the simple process of ending the war. Like the Bolsheviks in Russia, they are now expecting the Italians to throw down their arms on the Piave, the French to overthrow the Clemenceau Ministry, the Radicals in England to kick out the "War Party," Scheidemann to eliminate the Kaiser, and the peoples everywhere to rule shortly in the name of "a general democratic and negotiated peace." For these end-the-war-now people, the settlement of this war is a simple, a very simple matter. Briefly, all that is to be done is to "let the people speak." Bring them together. Let them talk. Didn't the President at Buffalo say that "a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face?" What is simpler? "Let us substitute thinking for killing"; let us settle this war the way the Catholic Church elects a Pope. Bring German and Allied missions together "in some secluded spot" and make them "virtual prisoners until they arrive at some agreement." "The rulers have failed to prevent war. Is any part of our civilization to be saved? The people must save it. Russia has cast out her political and economic tyrants." "The Russian people rule, and Russia has done more than any other nation to repudiate the war and to demand an immediate democratic and permanent peace." As Mr. Scott Nearing said on the 29th of November: "If the voice of the people is heeded, negotiations will

be begun at once; the Peace Conference will be convened; the world will be war free by Christmas."

The *New York Call*, under date of November 11, said editorially that "while the capitalist and financier has lost power in Europe, the Socialists are gaining it," and that "a peace can and will eventually be realized by every nation through social revolution and the complete overthrow of their ruling class element." The People's Council is opening headquarters in Washington for the purpose of lining up legislation in favor of a general democratic peace by "negotiation now."

A correspondent, a Massachusetts clergyman, dropped from his office by his parishioners for disloyalty, assures us that "it is not true," as we recently said in an editorial, "that a triumphant Germany would destroy every hope we have for a world governed by justice, and that what we mean by civilization is therefore hanging in the balance." He adds: "It makes relatively only a slight difference to civilization which side wins a particular war. Peace will enable all the belligerents to resume a normal life and really advance civilization." He says further: "We are morally bound to dispute a law which commands an immoral action. . . . I did not tacitly agree to obey the laws, regardless of their moral quality, and of their moral quality I myself must be the supreme judge in so far as my action is concerned. . . . The sensible way to end the war is to end it, not to win it; this is to substitute the civilized method of discussion and mutual concession for the asinine method of slaughter and destruction. . . . It is my duty to protest against the present policy of my Government and to do my utmost by the legitimate methods of democracy to secure the adoption of a peace without victory policy."

It is such immature views of infinitely pathetic groups that stirred the President of the United States to say:

"I do not doubt that the American people know what the war is about and what sort of an outcome they will regard as a realization of their purpose in it. As a Nation we are united in spirit and intention. I pay little heed to those who tell me otherwise. I hear the voices of dissent—who does not? I hear the criticism and the clamor of the noisily thoughtless and troublesome. I also see men here and there fling themselves in impotent disloyalty against the calm and indomitable power of the Nation. I hear men debate peace, who understand neither its nature nor the way in which we may attain it with uplifted eyes and unbroken spirits. But I know that none of these speaks for the Nation. They do not touch the heart of anything. They may safely be left to strut their uneasy hour and be forgotten."

Why will these sincere lovers of peace forget the almost pathetic attempt on the part of our Government to maintain peace through negotiation through two and a half long and distressing years? Why will they ignore the fact that the United States Government is now acting only through its representatives chosen by the people? Why do they ignore the further significant fact that we as a people have said, in the only way open for